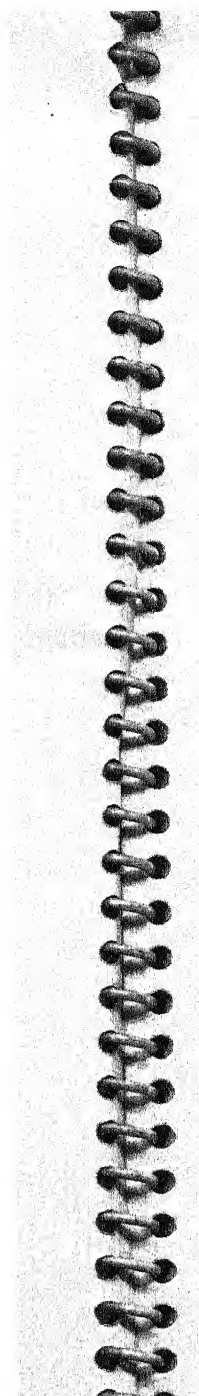


TRIBAL INDIA: SOME DIMENSIONS OF DEVELOPMENT

NALINI NATARAJAN

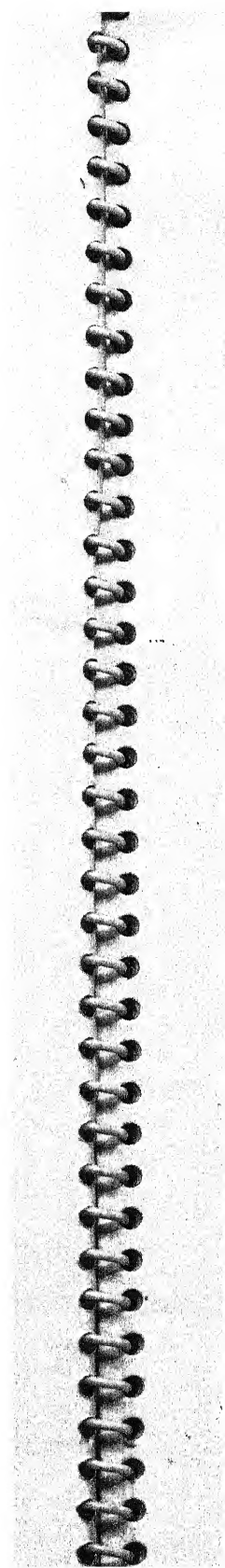
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sides many published articles, her work includes the  
following:-

<u>Title</u>	<u>Subject</u>
1. <u>The Missionary Among</u> <u>The Khasis.</u> Published (1977)	Cultural Anthropology
2. <u>The Functioning of Democracy</u> <u>In An Assamese and Khasi</u> <u>Village: A Comparative Study</u> (1978)	Political Sociology. (Under Publication)
3. <u>A Study of The Committees And</u> <u>Commissions Appointed By the</u> <u>Government of India For Tribal</u> <u>Welfare In Post-Independent</u> <u>India (1979).</u>	Applied Anthropology. (Under Publication).





## TRIBAL INDIA: SOME DIMENSIONS OF DEVELOPMENT

NALINI NATARAJAN

### INTRODUCTION:

Three decades of planned and phased tribal development in India at the national level is adequate to observe some dimensions of Development, Indian culture is a confluence of six streams The Greek, Scythian, Parthian, Persian, Mohammedan and Mughal, and, of eight major religions Hinduism, Christianity, Islam, Jainism, Sikhism, Judaism, Buddhism and Zoroastrianism, Tribal Development in India is to be studied against the above backdrop, the new extra systemic forces of the order of internationalisation and continuing phenomena such as the increase of population described as 'staggering', the increasing and widening base of poverty with the resultant handicaps, and the tradition - bound rural society which constitutes 79% of India's population. This paper Studies some dimensions, of Development in Tribal India.

### Tribal Profile:

The tribal communities of India have persisted for millenia as 'aborignals with distinct elements' (Haimendorf 1978) in near self-sufficiency. These communities belonged to six racial-types - Australoid, Mongoloid, Mediterrarean, Palae-Alpine, Negritos and Nordic. These homogeneous

aggregates with their simple forms of government, religions, beliefs, subsistent and simple non-monetised economy and political autonomy remained backward socially and economically partly due to torriance and partly due to the earlier isolationist colonial policy, among other factors.

In 1947, the nation became Independent and in 1950 the Indian Republic enshrined the rights of these simpler groups in the Constitution. In 1952, the Community Development Movement was launched for the socio-economic benefit of rural India so that its benefits would be distributed evenly among the weaker sections to enable them to participate in the challenging process of nation-building as equal partners. In this major experiment of the twentieth century, as Carl Taylor described, equity, parity and coarchy are central concepts in the development of tribal communities. The Special Multi-Purpose Tribal Development Block became the mechanism to implement schemes of benefit. These were 43 blocks in 1952. In nearly three decades, there are 504 blocks redesignated as Tribal Development Blocks and now, in the VI TH Plan (1980-1985) there are Integrated Tribal Development Projects. The variation was in the size of the territory and the number of the clientele. There are also new agencies as the TDAs, LAMPS, banks, cooperatives, hospitals, schools etc.

communicating through education, service, extension and intensive extension the dream of a happier and better India. The developmental efforts of Government were complemented by the efforts of voluntary organisations that had the in-built structural and organizational advantage of flexibility, resilience, speed in outreach of inputs for development and of dedicated personnel with training of psychological refinement and a humane approach.

In the wake of Independence, their pressing needs which set the trend of development, their habitat, ethos and social systems which partly set the pace of development became the concern of Government. It gave development a direction. Earlier, British administrators and Social Scientists had voiced tribal needs. But Gandhiji and Thakkar Barpe gave a new dimension by two concepts: participation and culture. Thus, the needs of tribal communities living in tarriance and with a simple technology were recognised as urgent and their rights were enshrined in the Constitution.

The S.C. and S.T. Act mention 354 names of ST's which are composite ones but the exact number varies. The inter-tribe local differentiation however needs adequate measurement, as Roy-Burman notes. An overall estimate is that there are 425/450 tribal communities in India. The numerical



strength variation (NSV) of Indian tribes is indicated below:

Macro-Scopic	Bhils 5 million	Gonds 4.9 million	Santhals 3.6 million	
Meso-Scopic	Khasis 4 lakhs	Apatanis 20,000	Rathawas 50,000	
Micro-Scopic	Andamanese 24	Shompen 82	Sentinelese 92	Onges. 112

TABLE 1

The table below indicates the Population spread and Density (PSI) of the tribals that vary in numbers and proportions in all states and Union Territories. Nine States have more than one million Scheduled Tribe Population in each. In 6 states and U.T.s, tribals are in the majority though below the one million mark. There is a contiguous belt of tribal preponderance starting from the near coast of Arabian Sea to the borders of Burma. Most of it has been affected by industrialization and the overspill is visible.

Indian Tribes may be divided into 5 territorial groups on the basis of historical and socio-cultural relations 1 N.E. India with the 7 units - Assam, Arunachal,

Meghalaya, Manipur, Mizoram, Nagaland, Tripura and Sikkim.  
2. Sub-Himalayan region of the North-West comprising the northern sub-mantane districts of Himachal Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh. 3. Central and East India comprising West Bengal, Bihar, Orissa and Madhya Pradesh. South India comprising Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu, Karnataka, Kerala, and, Lacadive, Maldive and Andaman Islands, 5. Western India comprising Rajasthan, Gujarat, Maharashtra, Dada and Nagar Haveli and Goa, Daman and Diu. Additional units of Andaman and Nicobar islands should be considered separately.

The dominant<sup>\*</sup> tribal languages in India (identified as 69, 150 and 180 by Scholars) belong to the Austric, Dravidian and Tibeto-Chinese families. Assuming that tribal languages were primarily spoken by the tribal community Roy Burman's estimate is that they constituted 47.3% of the total tribal populations of the country in 1961. Many tribals were also bilinguals.

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\* A minor dialect/language is so considered when it is spoken by less than 5,000 people.

The percentage of distribution of tribals by religion (1961-1971) is as follows:-

	Religion	1961	1971
I	Hindu	89.39	87.21
II	Christian	5.53	6.59
III	Buddhist	0.34	0.45
IV	Muslim	0.21	0.19
V	Jain	Marginal	Marginal
VI	Sikh	Marginal	Marginal
VII	Composite-Tribal Religions-offs-hoots, areligious groups.	4.58	5.56

TABLE II

Roy Burman<sup>4</sup> mentions some decline in percentage of S.T. Population professing Hinduism and Islam, and an increase in percentage of those professing Christianity, Bhddhism and other faiths including tribal religions. Continuing, he considers the changing religions and linguistic identities at two levels of surface i.e. in relating to changes in occupation, spread of urbanisation and education.

among tribals and secondly, at the cognitive-affective level i.e. deeper quests for viable principles of social organisation different from the alienating and bewildering complexities of the industrial societies.

On the basis of mono or tri-factorial combination of profession, occupation and technology, tribes may be classified into 8 groups as follows:-

(1) Forestry, food-gathering, hunting (2) shifting cultivation (3) Settled agriculture (4) Agricultural or industrial labour (5) animal husbandry, fishery, apairy, dairy-keeping, (6) house-hold industry (7) miscellaneous occupations-denotified tribes, white-collared jobs etc. (8) Elite-those in power and position to influence or grant patronage-businessmen, leaders, educated professionals and the like.

Urbanisation, a new phenomena in the tribal areas, has grown into a trend and hence a process. It answers primarily needs of education and employment and which caused migration the push and pull factor-mentioned by S.C. Dube is important for the purposes of classification from many other co-relates, demography, employment, occupation, stability and ecology. It is also related to elitism and leadership in current tribal life. In 1971, 3.41% of the total tribal population was urban. The urbanisation range varies from 3.41 to near zero. In the urbanised states of Madhya Pradesh



and Bihar the percentage is above 3.40. The range variation elsewhere is from 0.80% in Assam to 8.08% in Gujarat.

Literacy figures among tribals in the 1971 census are:-

Urban Areas	Rural areas
23.41%	10.60%

While urbanisation and education are both bi-links and bi-relates in tribal development, urbanisation in tribal areas is not always related to formal literacy. Moreover of recent, these are new aids by way of transistors, cassettes, etc.

The above facts and figures, new phenomena and processes reflect several dilemmas of growth among tribal communities.

Awareness of the Tribal Problem and Institutions for Tribal Development

Haimendorf<sup>5</sup> mentions the existence in post-Independent India of the existence of a tribal problem in relation to tribes and distinct elements. However (i) he has not mentioned the universal features of tribal



India vis-a-vis the other weaker sections, rural and urban societies and (ii) distinct elements of other deprived groups some of whom even among the tribals have modernised themselves to a far and even advanced degree. The hill tribes or coastal fishermen, for instance. However, as he states, extensive legislation relating to the 'Scheduled Tribes', the establishment of Tribal Research Institutes in 11 States, the work of Tribal Welfare Departments/Seminars/Conferences/Symposiums at the national and international level in the tribes and their problems, earlier and contemporary tribal movements as for instance the Plains Tribal Movement in Assam, the Jharkhand and Bhilistan movements, a growing scholarly and popular literature as tribal magazines, novels, etc., the growing interest in their arts and crafts as evinced by the leadership of Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya, are pointers to the effort for tribal development - socio-economic betterment with equity and parity.

#### Committees and Commissions on Tribal Development:

Since Independence, the Central and State Governments appointed a number of Committees and Commissions to look into the problems of tribal communities and recommend measures to improve their lot. These dealt with general and specific problems of tribal communities as a whole, as belonging to Scheduled or other areas and to tribal groups as

distinct entities.

Among the Specific problems discussed were those of Forests, debt-relief, bonded labour, Cooperation, denotified tribes etc. During 1949 to 1974, 10 Committees/ Commissions were appointed by the Government of India in the Post-Independent developmental decades that have sub-divided into 3 sub-periods (Natarajan 1979).

1. 1949-1959

2. 1960-1969

3. 1970-1974

The Scope and Findings of the above advisory groups on matters of Policy and Planning for development of tribal Communities are given below.<sup>6</sup>

1

Renuka Ray  
Committee 1959

- a. Economic Development and Communications
- b. Education and
- c. Public Health

2

Surendra Singh  
Committee: 1959

- a. Agriculture
- b. Personnel

3

Elusin Committee  
1959

- a. Economic Development
- b. Communication
- c. Social Service

4

Dhebhar Commission  
1960

- a. Economic Development
- b. Education
- c. Health
- d. Communication

5

Bhargara Committee  
1962

- a. Organisations - Cooperatives at primary and Secondary levels.
- b. Cooperative building of Forest and agriculture-based industries.
- c. Indestedness.

6

Hari Singh Committee  
1965

- a. Forests.
- b. Replacement of intermediaries.
- c. Uniform Programme for the nation with concentration on Central belt
- d. Building of cooperatives

The above set of tables indicates priorities of various Committees/Commissions for tribal development.

SOURCE: Study of Committees and Commissions Appointed by the Government of India for Tribal Welfare In Post-Independent India. Nalini Natarajan

7	8
Shilu AO Committee 1969	Bawa Committee 1971
a. Economic development b. Educational backwardness c. Inadequacy of Communications	e. Cooperative movement. h. Linkage of micro-meso and macro level
9	10
APPA Committee 1971	Basic Policy Papers 1974
a. Relief of indebtedness b. Land alienation, and c. Restoration in Tribal Development Agency Areas	a. Agriculture. b. Land ownership, Irrigation methods of agriculture. c. Livestock.

The above set of tables indicates priorities of various Committees/Commissions for tribal development.

SOURCE: Study of Committees and Commissions Appointed By the Government of India For Tribal Welfare In Post-Independent India. Nalini Natarajan



Certain developments that have shaped the strategy are mentioned below in brief. In the First and Second Plans - the emphasis, as judged by financial allocations, was on education. But, economic development of an unimagined magnitude envisaged in the Second Plan necessitated the establishment of <sup>more</sup> T.D.B.s. There were also increasing collective tribal articulations such as the Jharkhand movement, the demands for political equalisation as in the north-east ( Nagaland or Mizo Hills) and the stirrings among the plains tribals of Assam. Certain disparities, area-wise and group-wise here led to a pressing demand for emphasis on the quality of personnel, an atmosphere for their to work for a just betterment, timely appreciation to personnel and their deprived and disrupted families, the importance of Cooperatives and organisation in tribal areas and also seeking tribal participation and response for a smoother and speedier change T.D.A.s have been set up in the States of Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and Orissa and Tribals have been associated with these at very high levels. Felt needs of tribal groups and varying priorities are considered important as the response has been poor or indifferent in some areas. A greater appreciation of tribal culture is imperative in understanding their problems and the new approach is expected to result in equity.

The 1974 policy made Special mention of:

- a. Isolated Small Groups living at pre-agricultural technological level.
- b. Zones of influence of big mining of industrial enterprise.
- c. Hinterland of a big urban centre, and
- d. A sparsely populated forest region.

The linkage with other regional areas is also stressed.

The following equations. Mhstrate sectoral accent on development of tribal welfare-

Diagram - 2.

P I (i)	1949-1956	: $e_1$
(ii)	1951-1959	: $e_2$
P II	1960-1969	: $e_2 + \frac{\text{---}}{e_1}$
P III	1970-1974	: $e_1 + e_2 + e_3$
P IV	1975	: $e_1 + e_2 + e_3 + A_e 4$

P - Phase

$e_1$  : Education

A - Anticipating

$e_2$  : Economic Development

- - - Emergent Sector

$e_3$  : Ecology

$e_4$  : Equity.

SOURCE: Study of Committees and Commissions Appointed by the Government of India For Tribal Welfare In Post-Independent India - Nalini Natarajan.

The 1974 policy had a flexible and Scientific approach, In 1978-1983 the policy was related to the tribal personality, culture and weltanschauung. And yet, in many areas tribal stirrings have been visible manifestations of certain expectations and demands. The Adivasis of Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and Orissa, and movements away from certain Plains Tribals of Assam and the Khasis of Meghalaya are instances in point of the unrest. In certain areas of Gujarat, the success of tribal development is attributed to dedicated leadership, in Maharashtra the success of forest Cooperatives was attributed to the role of voluntary agencies, in areas as Arunachal Pradesh to imaginative and able administrators; in some areas as Meghalaya, improvement in literacy, education and health is attributed to certain inherent traits of independence of the highland mountaineers & equality and the work of missionaries from the West. Thus, different factors have led to the success of schemes for tribal development Apart from these 'growth-factors', priorities of development may change. Land alienation, debt relief as in Andhra Pradesh, bonded labour as in Orissa, modernising dairy farms as in Nilgiri Hills, modernisation in spheres of agriculture, modifying shifting cultivation, modernisation in industry as in the case of Fishermen of coastal Kerala, <sup>highlighting</sup> problems of vanishing tribes as in the



Andaman and Nicobar Islands and multi-purpose cooperatives for nomadic and denotified groups are adequate pointers, Growth factors and priorities are two important components on development. But able administrators and timely initiation and completion of schemes is necessary. Procedural simplicity, overcoming bureaucratic apathy or indifference are significant parameters of the situation. Equitable distribution of need-related schemes, maintaining the ecological balance and participation of the tribals are equally significant. In the process of invoking tribal participation the role of the elite, the urge and ideology are important.

The Report of the working Group on Tribal Development during Medium Term Plan (1978-1983) a high level Committee, had the thinking of universal coverage. The two-pronged attack on development of the Committee was area-specific and family oriented. A broader concept of minimum needs is stressed respectively tribal ethos against historical dimension. The urgency of certain problems is stressed - as those of declining tribes, emergent tribal groups affected by urbanisation, primitive and dispersed groups and artisans. In social sciences, a comprehensive concept of qualitative improvement in the Socio-economic status (SES) of the individual and the family is advocated. The focus is on women and children and the approach is need-based.



In brief, the overtone is on broadening of the base of tribal economy and upgrading of and centralisation in administration.

#### Approaches to Tribal Development

In the tri-decadal study of tribal development in India, issues highlighted by prominent thinkers on tribals are relevant. Gandhiji highlighted the social injustices and advised exposure to all cultures and the human angle. Pandit Nehru spoke of the Panchsheel Policy in which he emphasised the dignity of the tribal personality and the emphasis on respecting their ethos. Rajendra Prasad spoke about respecting their values and the rich heritage in culture and art. Administrators and Social Scientists have also influenced approaches to tribal development and these have assumed new dimensions because of increased communication, inter-tribe and tribe-caste contacts that led to inter-mixture, inter-dining and inter-marriage. There was systemic alteration at the fringe in terms of some values - economic, religious etc. and minor structural changes in the family caused by excessive deforestation or simpler types of agriculture as the slash-or-burn type. New forces that affected tribal development were urbanisation, westernization, industrialisation, education, technology and modernization.

The earlier approaches to tribal development in India are three Isolation, Assimilation and Integration. Haimendorf<sup>8</sup> gave a graphic description of these isolated tribes in 1960, 17 years after Elwin<sup>9</sup> had described these tribes as isolated in the pre-Independent era(1943). In 1957, Mamoria<sup>10</sup> mentioned that the estimate of scholars was that of the near 25 million tribal population, nearly 20 live in the plains and the assimilated with the rest of the people and only 5 millions may be taken as the population. In 1974, Vidyarthi<sup>11</sup> stated that the tribal people of India live in the forests, hills and plateaus and naturally isolated regions: In 1963 and 1966 Ghurye<sup>13</sup> stressed the integrationist view.

In the new approaches to tribal development shamas<sup>14</sup> stand is that development is primarily for the tribals, hence to tribal perspective is vital to any planning or approach to development. Vidyarthi<sup>15</sup> emphasized the operational aspect of a typology (tribes as 7 types) after consideration of their (i) eco-system (2) Traditional economy (3) Their Super-natural beliefs and practices. He suggested typology rather than the tribe as units of development. Doshi<sup>16</sup> (1978) in the study of Political Unification Among The Scheduled Tribes of Rajasthan focuses on the Term unification with reference to two levels of analysis, namely (1) Relations

between individual and his society and (2) Society as a 'whole' and its relations with the region in which it is found. The first level of analysis implies integration (or lack of it, of the units of society with each other comprising them as a 'whole', The Second level of analysis, it is stated implies integration (or lack of it) of the units of society comprising them as a whole. While Doshi's stance is primarily political integration has been the key concept in the recent approach to tribal development with socio-economic objectives. However, the political over tones of any process of development are correlated to development because of two factors -power and patronage. Regional disparities, the spread of benefits, the role of elite, the type of personnel the treatment meted to and the performance criteria, as also the community as an acceptor of and donor to the process of developments, and altering it as a system. Sharma <sup>17</sup> mentions regional disparities in his writings for and lectures at the I.I.P.A. (1976-1978).

An important aspect of the new social reality in recent tribal development is the participation of tribal groups through their representatives tribal and non-tribal in the various decision-making stages. Implementation and planning was mentioned initially by the Dhebhhar Commission (1960) which classified tribes into 4 groups. Of this, the



first group is that of tribals requiring no further help. This point has also been made by the Shilu Ao Committee (1969). Natarajan<sup>18</sup> mentions the 'tribe-nation' continuum (1979). This continuum is important in view of the inter-relationship and complexity of the endogeneous and exogeneous factors and processes affecting development.

A New Approach to Tribal Development:

In this Paper I, I suggest a new approach to tribal development, a continuation with modification of the third stream of the earlier approaches thus:

1. Isolation : Ist Stream.
2. Assimilation : 2nd Stream.
3. Integration : 3rd Stream.
4. Absorption : 4th stream- the new approach  
Absorption is integration.<sup>+</sup>

In this new approach, the concept of absorption seeks primarily national unity on the basis of a changed perception on the part of both parties - the donors and acceptors of development programmes. Absorption, as a goal of development in the present context implies a continuity with refinement in the earlier approach to integration. Hence, it may be called integration.<sup>+</sup> and is not to be construed as mere semantics but a proper discourse. It is partly based on

the recent Chinese model of rural development which has attained a plateau and in which the two keys of success are mobilisation and participation. In the Indian model of absorption the missing link is organisation. And, organisation could be achieved through industrialisation, communication and education. In education extension is an important concept and of recent there is intensive extension. Mobilisation, organisation and participation that constitute the approach can be achieved. The model may be named MOPICE and in communicating this, the tribal elite must come forward. Their urge and ideology are important in conditions where the direction indicates coarchy - an equal partner relationship. The elite role prescription can be related to the group identified by the Dhebar Commission and the Shilu Ao Committee as a group not requiring any special considerations as they are well-off socio-economically.

In any model of development <sup>and</sup> primarily a model for tribals who have distinct elements <sup>are</sup> as ethnicity, culture and personality. There are also universal elements as poverty economic backwardness, and humanness is a vital factor in involvement of a community.

Any development is ultimately a problem of a balance between tradition and modernisation in which an individual relates primarily to (1) himself (i) the groups

around him and which influence and affect his individual and group life and (iii) finally to the life beyond . All three in case of tribals relate to human societies in which technology is simple and require a change in this age of Technotronics, Economic growth and Technology must be in consonance with culture and needs of a people and the distribution must be equitable. Thus experiment and training attain a relevance that enables a society to equip itself for change rather than be swept by it. The immediate object is to minimise the stresses and strains of a new technology and economic order and identify the 'accelerants' that act as spurs to growth.

In such a situation of tribal India, when there is aspiration explosion on the one hand, and alienation from the property (land forests and water etc.) on the one <sup>and</sup> other the group, clan and kin) <sup>there is</sup> / disruption of earlier values. It is to the personnel that people turn to with legitimate hope. Indeed, implementation has been identified as one of the lags in schemes for tribal development and implementation depends largely on personnel. The three aspects of the role of the personnel are - Prescription

Expectation

Performance.

Legitimacy and the de jure de facto aspects apply to all the

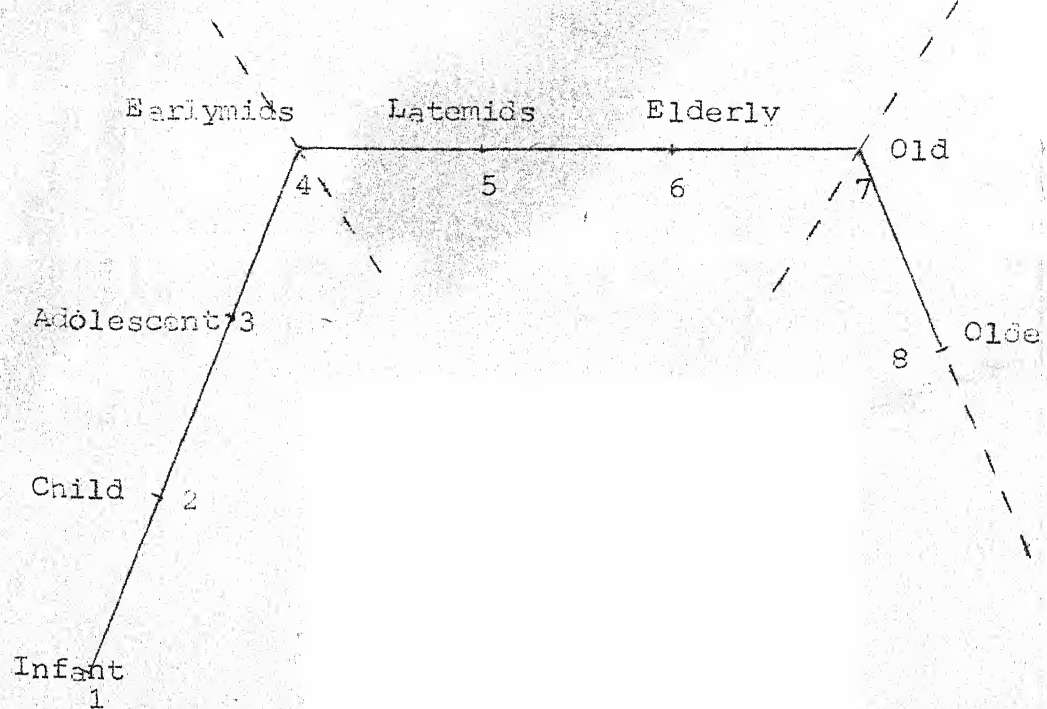
three. Proper conditions of service and fair treatment are the minimum conditions for personnel of any service. In remote tribal areas; the conditions of work and living are difficult.

Another aspect of the model - MOPICE is suggested and could be worked out on the basis of the area - location, (whether strategic, soil fertility, proneness to earth quakes, famines, floods), the developmental level of people, the leadership provided by the elite and the type and manner(mode) of aid coming is. With this frame of reference, it may be possible to have a flow-chart of schemes of tribal development after integration, and with active participation on the basis of a gradation - as in the case of growing trees or of human lives and communities. For the model MOPICE, this aspect is important both for monitoring and evaluation. It is related to the growth of the tribal thought. The basis could be:-

0 - 1	Infant	1-10	child.	Adolescent	10-20
20 - 30	Early mids	30-40	late mids		
40 - 50	Elderly	50-60	old.	60-70	Older.

In the 3 to 6 there is a plateau as below:-





#### MOPICE DEVELOPMENT MODEL

Points 4 and 7 are crucial for development.  
Point 4 is more easily moveable than point  
7 which is inflexible as there is increasing  
institutionalisation.

Nalini Natarajan  
July 1980, I.I.P.A.



Points 4 and 7 would be crucial for effectivity. Indeed, the tempo or vibrancy, the response of a community can now be engineered and evaluated and development can be studied scientifically both as a process and system susceptible to extra-systematic force as man made and natural calamities or, severe conflict resolutions as inflation, for instance. Hence a polyvalent approach, as in conflict - resolution is called for. Conflict represents a particular kind of problem that cannot be resolved simply with money, technology or power. In the handling of conflicts a careful study of the situation as it appears from various aspects and various points of time is necessary.

Measurement of Process for Tribal Development:

Social processes are measured by Stochastic Models ( for probability distribution ) and Statistical Methods. Paul Lazarfeld <sup>19</sup> maintains a general awareness that probability ideas play an explicit or implicit

role in the study of human behaviour ... The predictions of the Social Scientist will always be probabilistic. Jacob Marschak <sup>20</sup> also maintains that empirical service consists of statements about probability distributions. Difficulties in such a situation stem primarily from the phenomena.

(i) The values and objectives of human beings are unclear. (ii) The value and objectives of human beings are changeable. In 1973 Jeffreys <sup>21</sup> noted that science starts with the fact that variation exists and proceeds from first considering the hypothesis that it is random and detecting in succession departures from randomness.

#### Development and Planning:

In any Scheme for development, planning is an integrated and vital concept. Models of Spatial Planning or Planning for Sub-areas have attempted recently with greater effectivity. However, quick changes as shifts of power, changed

perception, prevalence of sudden and large-scale non-productive and counter-productive elements, trends and forces may call for new approaches. Process of experimentation continues as development is never a complete or total success. It continues as a process and is anti-developmental at the same time. It is subject to extra-systemic Forces.

Planning for development of tribals is often considered a futile and conceptual exercise. Other factors associated are a rigid approach, restraint of speed, inter and intra-regional disparities within groups because of sex, time, culture, money etc., loss of credibility and confidence, social and individual handicaps and influence of peer-groups which are functional. In tribal areas, an inadequate socio-economic data-base and remoteness of areas are also mentioned. If specialization is necessary for planning which implies objectives, it is as much necessary in tribal areas as in others. In view of constraint of resources, management and elimination of waste are important. Also, in a technology-oriented development, there are 3 aspects - innovation, alteration and invention. Basu <sup>22</sup> mentioned these recently citing an example of France. Recent examples suitable to tribal areas include. surface wells costing Rs. 25 each of the

WHO and utilisation of waste products of water hyacinths for bio-gas purpose. The prime concern of planning is replacement of non-productive and counter-productive elements. The initial exercise is the use of development methods of identifying, analysing and resolving in an integrated and objective manner all relevant factors in respect of aims and planning policies. Culture and change are increasingly important.

Models relevant to tribal development: Issues and Indices.

Zafg Wolfgang:

As development for tribal India is multi-dimensional, it must have matching components. Issues as to the indices of development are relevant. Relevant queries are: is there consumption-orientation? By what scale can the components be measured? Zafg Wolfgang<sup>23</sup> suggested that flows of development should be measured for the purposes of planning. He suggested a scale with 4 measurement units for each dimension or component.

Unbearable-----inadquate-----adequate-----affluent.  
                  1                  2                  3                  4

He further suggests multi-dimensional concept of development wherein welfare may range from 'total consumption' (including components other than those available in the market) through 'improvements' relative to national goals', to 'contentment with living conditions'. In the tribal profile of India,



one encounters despair, inaction, contentment and consumption that is luxury oriented. While the working out of formulae of net rural welfare involves many problems of theory and evaluation, norms and value-orientation, and a complexity inherent in the multi-dimensional nature of development, a common fact is that Wolfgang's conception is wider than the one-dimensional notion of GNP based on productivity. Hence its applicability with suitable modification is possible in tribal areas. The operationalizing and measurement of the components of welfare/development can be done in units of money (finance), physical units or 'psychical units' (though measurement of attitudes). These units measuring attitudes are social indicators.

The main problem arising in the construction of such systems with multi-dimensional components as in areas of tribal development are those involved in a suitable definition of development concept to suit tribal areas. The problem lies in determination, on theoretical and/or programmatic grounds, the structure and the task of selection and operationalizing the indicators; and finally in the actual process of measurement itself i.e. the procuring of available, data or the accession to new basic statistical data. The particular universe of research also needs testing and application, operating at a multi-level phase, in the trend of living,

Wolfgang<sup>24</sup> sets the 4 scale critical points of for each componentor dimension ('unbearable', 'inadequate' 'adequate' 'affluent') and individual-indices normalized on a 100-Scale. Such as index construction will be useful in tribal areas and indicators can be combined into a system for tribal resulting from the fact that the dimensions and critical points are selected on scientific and political grounds.

John O Wilson:

A modified version of John O Wilson's<sup>25</sup> Social Indicators Battery might also be considered.

In his study of comparatively large numbers of units of investigation e.g. nations, cities and primarily 50 states of the U.S.A. There was use of a large number of basic indicators, main components for the selected goal areas and the calculation is by factor analysis. After construction of the components system, the units of investigation (the individual States) are rank-ordered on the basis of their respective factor loadings. This enables him to determine, among other overall rankings a development profile and over a period of time, rates of change. Thus he compresses a 'Battery' of 15 social indicators as abitilies (character), agriculture, economic growth, education etc. and 9 family indicators of family life such as money, amusement, housing, communal and family plans etc. against 3 indices of Income, Consumption

and Welfare Dimension of having, loving and being, (psychic needs). The objects of this model are to (i) develop a unitary index of measurable welfare in natural units of foods and services (2) To calculate possibilities for improving the quality of life 'national goal areas' (3) To define and agree upon a list of corporate targets important for a policy of improving individual welfare-select goal areas-social and individual concerns. Such an exercise involves a multi-level application, and in tribal conditions three facts to be noted are the increasing heterogeneity of tribal areas, national and international concerns. In many tribal areas as in rural India, the Social visibility is poor. So, in consonance with national goals and resources, the frame of reference could be individual, Social, national international concerns.

Erik Allardt

My model MOPICE can be developed on the lines of the welfare model of rural development given by the Finnish sociologist Erik Allardt. His System is the only system which is useful in empirical research <sup>so far</sup> because of part-application. Allardt wants to develop a theoretically closed system of welfare measurements. To this end he combines theories of basic human needs (Maslow), of Social Structure and function. The four dimensions are economy, integrative



Sub-systems and 'knowledge' and Allardt's model takes into account allocations, correlation structures, distribution Structures, corporate benefits and individual benefits.

In the tribal context the macro-unit of the nation must be remembered in case of corporate benefits. Allardt uses in his model the complement component of welfare values - having 'loving' and 'being' which themselves correlate with Maslow's 'basic needs', Socio-psychological scales were also developed by him. Since communication-physical and psychic are important in my model - psychosocial scales would be useful as aids.

#### Hadley Cantril

In the sphere of human concerns, subjectivity and objectivity complicate matters, Other elements are the typology of needs on the basis of urgency, area, donors, acceptors etc. In the model of development for tribal India, while variations, speed and flexibility are necessary, changing needs form the crux and therein lies the challenge.

Hadley Cantril's pioneer work in 1950 deals primarily with Patterns of Human Concerns: ( Hopes and Fears. He deals with subjective Social indicators - measures of individual contentment aspirations and conceptions of value. In the field, cantril studies related hopes and fears of respondents freely and there was determination of aspects of life turn<sup>ing</sup>-trends and particularly important from the positive and negative point



of view. This was then indicated by the respondents on a personal Scale, their personal position and that of their country and this in the past, present and future. In sum, a System of Socio-psychological indicators was constructed by means of the weighting of loading attached to spontaneous declarations - life quality scale.

Quality social reporting, with modification, can be used for tribal areas in India. The 5 functions of quality Social reporting may be used singly or in combinations depending upon factors such as the area, people, needs etc.

1. The description of Social Structures, performance and processes of change (measuring function).
2. The evaluation of structures, performance and cost/benefit combinations (evaluative functions).
3. Analysis (as with economic accounting) of the interaction between structures and performance in specific areas (accounting function).
4. The marshalling and dissemination of explanatory information i.e. experientially tested knowledge of casual connections. (explanatory function).
5. Harnessing the few above-mentioned functions in systematic institutionalized action in support of an 'active Social Policy (innovative function).

In the case of tribal areas finances are significant, but factors 1,3 and 4 would be more useful. It is the approaches to welfare, development above all that would serve the measuring function: Definition of the pace, direction and depth of social change is a fundamental element of social reporting. Among the differentiation by type welfare concerns/components, differentiation of tribal could be on the basis of living conditions, standards and attitudes. Expectation about the end products of planned development as a social process would be: living conditions, benefits, outputs, results, <sup>distribution</sup> participation, performance and availability of goods and services. Again, change is an important concept, central to the process of development.

#### Analysis of Change for Policies Relating to Development:

The Scientific status of refined techniques help in analysis change to act as a spur to further development. Simulation Techniques make possible the prompt analysis of changes in parameter (i.e. of Social change) to provide scientific support for the evaluation of social policy programmes and to bring into the discussion new goal conceptions and alternative strategies.

It is relevant to consider here that in every culture, there is a fixation of a group's role; Family, the kin unit - 'clan' for the tribal is still important. There is

institutionalized activity and universality of every group with both behaviour types - subjective and objective certain traits are common too e.g. attachment to land and kn. The new changes of urbanisation and education have altered to a slight degree the familism of the tribals and land alienation has also caused disruption.

#### Participation in Tribals in Development:

A changed perception is called for to enable further participation of tribals in schemes for development for them. Among the factors that have changed the tribal profile there are the following:-

1. Confusion of identity.
2. Change in national Population Profile.
3. Ecological Imbalance.
4. Land alientation.
5. Political change.
6. Changing Social System.
7. Changing economy.
8. World State.

#### Role of Social Scientists:

i) Speaking for social Scientists and social welfare professionals, the contention is made that rather than the mere study of social issues and welfare policy, the concern must be

with the analysis of the Policy functions and dys-functions from the point of view of social reform, Social equality and Social well-being. Advocacy for programmes and policies for tribals that enhance human well-being is called for.

ii) A humane, rational and practical approach is necessary to invite larger participation from tribals in the processes of development, Palacio <sup>27</sup> concluded rightly in 1976, 'A process of mutual self-indentification and Self-improvement obtains between the anthropologist and the People being studied ... He should plan his study in terms of the needs of the people of the location. Only in this way can Anthropology remain the study of man for the good of all mankind.

iii) In this process, the anthropologist's prime role relates to conscientization of the people <sup>28</sup> by (i) rediscovering, items in tribal cultures that can be reintroduced within the new cultural identity (ii) participating in Technical project's designed to alleviate Socio-economic problems. The human component can be integrated into the development Schemes by the Social Scientists and the anthropologists microscope can provide the relevant fine differences. In the mobilisation, organisation and participation of tribals for development, such a role is vital to the <sup>new</sup> processes of industrialisation, communication and education to aid mobilization, organisation and participation of tribals in development.



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